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ABSTRACT

Recognizing the broad range of social and economic limitations associated with residential segregation, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations initiated a research program to define the extent of these problems and to advance strategies for dealing with them. The initial phase of the project commissioned research papers which were reviewed and discussed at a symposium by members of the legal and advocacy communities. The outcome of the symposium was a shift in emphasis away from residential mobility as a solution to urban minority problems, toward a more balanced policy and research approach emphasizing improved education, employment, and housing opportunities in central cities. The first part of this report synthesizes the findings and policy recommendations contained in the following commissioned papers: (1) "Minorities in Suburbia" (Eunice and George Grier); (2) Metropolitan Housing Opportunities for Poor and Working Class Minorities" (Margery Austin Turner; Douglas B. Page); (3) "Segregated Housing, Educational Inequality, and the Possibility of Urban Integration" (Gary Orfield); (4) "Spatial Mobility, Minority Class Structure, and the Urban Underclass" (Douglas B. Page); (5) "Metropolitan Decentralization, Transit Dependence, and the Employment Isolation of Central City Black Workers" (Yale Rabin); and (6) "The Economic Performance of Minorities in National and Urban Labor Markets" (Wayne Vroman). The second part of the report outlines a research agenda based on these papers which supports a general strategy for expanding opportunities for minorities in urban areas. An extensive bibliography is organized according to the following topics: (1) Education; (2) Transportation; (3) Urban Economic/Employment Patterns; (4) Urban Residential Patterns; (5) Minority Income and Class Structure; (6) Policy and Legal. Statistical data are included on four graphs. A discussion of the research agenda, and the symposium program and a list of attendees are included in the appendices. (FMW)

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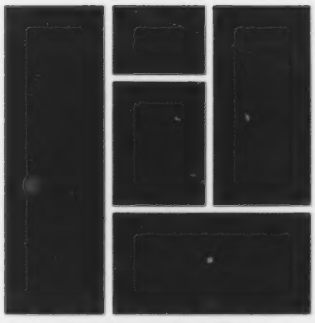

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EXPANDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR URBAN MINORITIES: HOUSING'S ROLE, BROADLY DEFINED

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June 1988

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INTRODUCTION

The fact of racial and ethnic residential segregation continues to be vividly evident in America's metropolitan areas, despite some limited progress during the 1970s. The costs of such segregation have increased, however, going beyond the denial of high quality housing and living environments. Residential segregation in most metropolitan areas produces separate and unequal public educational opportunities. For blue collar minority workers living in central cities, because of suburbanization of industrial jobs, it means a declining ability to compete for those blue collar positions remaining in the area. The employment problem is especially acute in the Northeast and Midwest, and for those in all regions who are dependent on public transportation. This general pattern of disadvantages associated with spatial segregation is found in its most virulent form in those areas which have been labeled as "underclass neighborhoods" where social isolation reaches alarming levels.

Recognizing the broad range of social and economic limitations associated with residential segregation, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations initiated a program of research to define the extent of these problems and to advance strategies for dealing with them. The project, initially undertaken by the National Center Against Discrimination in Housing and then shifted to The Urban Institute, had two long-term objectives:

- o to design a strategy for enabling minority working class and lower income families to obtain suitable and affordable housing in the peripheral areas of metropolitan regions and within convenient commuting distance of areas of expanding job opportunities

- o to understand the role of housing mobility in constraining the housing choices of "underclass families," including such factors as housing discrimination, limited search areas, impediments to search and relocation, and the role of housing assistance.

A more immediate objective applies to the work reported here:

- o to develop a program of research which would directly support the execution of the strategy being developed by informing and enhancing the work of advocacy groups.

In keeping with the comprehensive scope of the project, review papers were commissioned on housing availability and affordability; differences in the quality of city and suburban schooling and the impacts of shifting inner city children to better systems; the availability of public transportation to suburban jobs; trends in urban labor markets; demographic changes in urban areas; and, the structure and size of the "underclass population." These papers are summarized in the synthesis which constitutes the second section of this report.

This initial phase of the project also convened a symposium consisting mostly of members of the legal and advocacy communities to review and discuss these papers as well as to comment on the broad outlines of an action strategy and the supporting research agenda.

During the course of the symposium, it became clear that too much emphasis had been placed on residential mobility as a

tool for addressing the broader problems confronting minorities. The particular concern was that facilitating, or even encouraging, minority dispersal would not necessarily yield sufficient benefits in employment and improved job quality. Rather, a more balanced policy and research approach was suggested, one with more equal emphasis on improving education, employment, and housing opportunities in central cities as well as insuring full and genuine freedom of choice in residential location for minorities. It was recognized, for example, that some movement of populations from especially difficult "underclass" neighborhoods may improve the ability of agencies to assist those who remain. Within this broader perspective, the principal focus of the project remains on housing, both as an end in itself and as a means whereby some residential areas provide access to better schools and jobs for minorities.

The balance of this report consists of two parts. The first is the synthesis of the facts and ideas on public policy contained in the six commissioned papers.[1] The second outlines a research agenda which supports a general strategy for expanding the opportunities for minorities in urban areas. A bibliography is provided and Annexes A and B present a discussion of the research agenda and the symposium program and list of attendees, respectively.

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1. The six papers, which are listed at the beginning of the synthesis, are available separately from The Urban Institute.

WHAT WE KNOW AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR IMPROVING THE LIVES OF URBAN MINORITIES

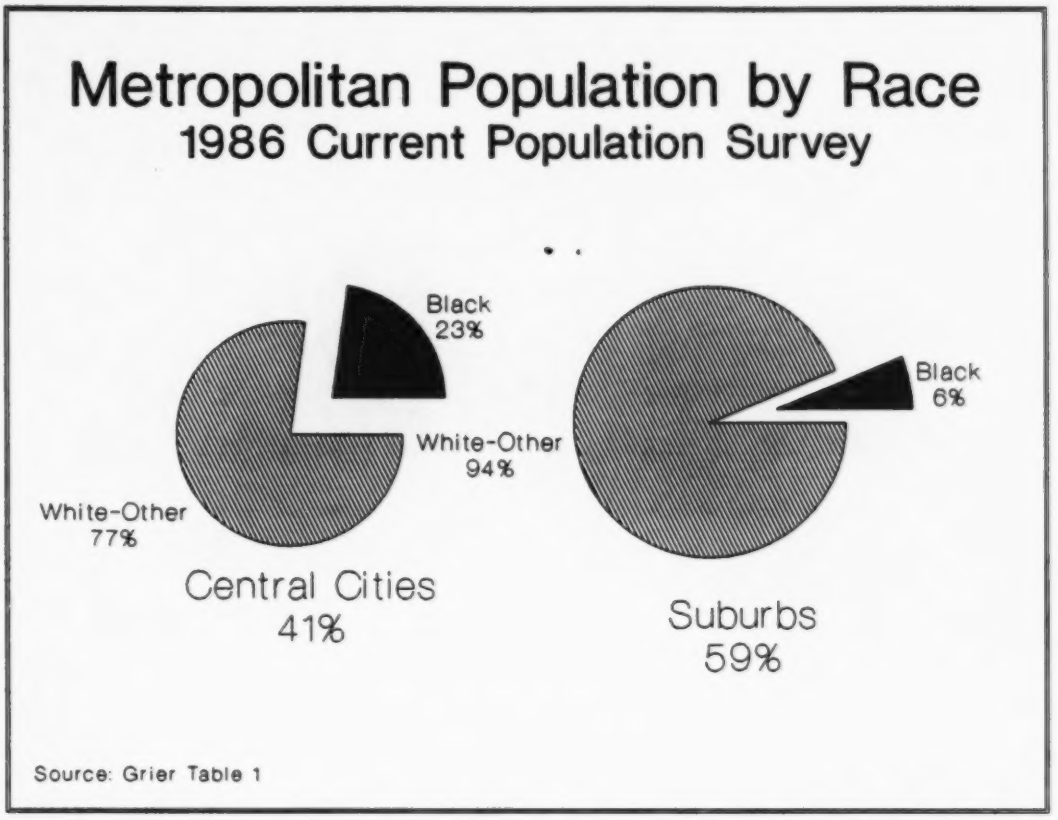
In an effort to synthesize current thinking on the segregation dilemma and the potential role for improved housing, residential mobility, access to employment opportunities and quality education in its solution, we draw on six studies commissioned by this project, which examine different aspects of these metropolitan problems:

> Minorities in Suburbia, Eunice and George Grier, The Grier Partnership;
>
> Metropolitan Housing Opportunities for Poor and Working Class Minorities, Margery Austin Turner, Douglas B. Page, The Urban Institute;
>
> Segregated Housing, Educational Inequality, and the Possibility of Urban Integration, Gary Orfield, The University of Chicago;
>
> Spatial Mobility, Minority Class Structure, and the Urban Underclass, Douglas B. Page, The Urban Institute;
>
> Metropolitan Decentralization, Transit Dependence, and the Employment Isolation of Central City Black Workers, Yale Rabin, The University of Virginia; and
>
> The Economic Performance of Minorities in National and Urban Labor Markets, Wayne Vroman, The Urban Institute.

Together these six studies provide a comprehensive review of the inter-related phenomena that contribute to metropolitan segregation, and offer guidance toward a concerted policy response to address this most blatant and injurious manifestation of racial discrimination in America.

A. CURRENT PATTERNS OF SEGREGATION AND THEIR EFFECTS

Blacks and Hispanics are concentrated in the central cities and in large part are excluded from the suburbs. Blacks and Hispanics suffer poverty more often and more severely than whites, and their poverty reinforces this racially segregated residential pattern. Trends of minority migration during the 1980s have included a slowdown in the rate of black suburban growth and a regional concentration of black suburbanization in the south. There is a nationwide shortage of housing affordable to the poor, which disproportionately affects minorities, keeping the poorest concentrated in the central cities where stocks of cheap housing are also located. Patterns of residential segregation interact with patterns of educational segregation, as predominantly white suburbs and black central cities produce one-race school systems that are vastly unequal, and as racially identifiable neighborhood schools reinforce residential segregation. Minorities continue to suffer economic inequality, which has been recently exacerbated by massive central city losses of low-skilled jobs, and the increased share of metropolitan jobs located in the suburbs. Because minorities are much more dependent upon public transit systems, which are designed to serve central city locations, the locational changes in job opportunities operate to their particular disadvantage. In sum, the many aspects of metropolitan segregation are inter-related and reinforce the educational, economic, and social separation of central city minorities from suburban whites.



Metropolitan Racial Segregation -- American metropolitan areas are racially bifurcated. In 1986, over 70% of metropolitan blacks lived in the central cities, a racial concentration which translates into a tiny black presence of only 6.3% of all suburbanites. The same pattern is present for Hispanics, who represented only 5.4% of all suburbanites in 1980, and is most marked among Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans [see Woolbright, Hartmann (1987)]. Metropolitan blacks reside in suburbs about half as often as would be expected from their proportion of the area's population and Hispanics about 70% as often. [Grier][1]

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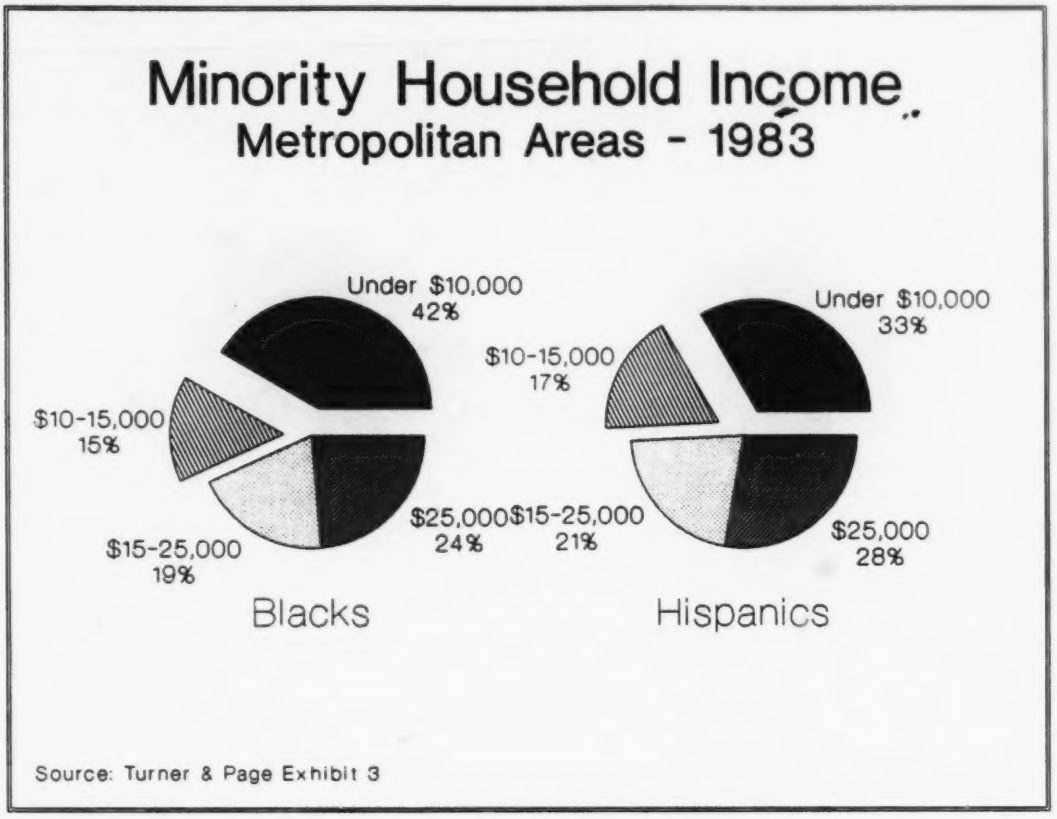
1. These references are to the six papers commissioned as part of this project or to the additional references found in the bibliography.

Definition of Income Classes -- In 1983, median income for all U.S. households was about $20,000, while the median for households living in metropolitan areas was somewhat higher, but not as high as $25,000. Median incomes for metropolitan households are reported separately for owners and renters, making it impossible to determine exactly where the median falls. Therefore, we have adopted $20,000 as an estimate of median household income for urban households in the early 1980s. HUD defines its income classes by local medians adjusted for household size (0-50% of median -- very low income; 50-80% of median -- lower income; and 80-120% of median -- moderate income). Applying these definitions to the $20,000 median income estimate yields cut-offs of $10,000, $16,000, and $24,000. Because published data are reported in $5,000 increments, the following approximations of the HUD standard are most useful:

Definition of Income Classes

	HUD Definition	Income Range
Very low income	less than 50% of local median	0 - $10,000
Low income	50% to 80% of local median	$10,000 - $15,000
Moderate income	80% to 120% of local median	$15,000 - $25,000
Middle/high income	more than 120% of local median	$25,000 +

The upper bound for our very low income class roughly corresponds to the poverty line ($10,178 in 1983 for a family of four), while the upper bound for our moderate income group is about two and a half times higher than the poverty line. [Turner & Page]



Disproportionate Poverty Among Urban Minorities -- Blacks and Hispanics suffer poverty more often and more severely than whites. In 1987 black median family income was only 58% of that for whites, and black unemployment was nearly 2 1/2 times as high as that for whites. Over half of metropolitan black and Hispanic households are poor, with annual incomes of less than $ 15,000, and about 20 percent have moderate incomes of $ 15,000 to $ 25,000. Even black suburbanites, while better off than central city blacks, still lag behind their white counterparts in employment, education, homeownership and income. For most other metropolitan blacks, intense poverty is commonplace and a stable income is tenuous. In 1983 over 41% of all black households and

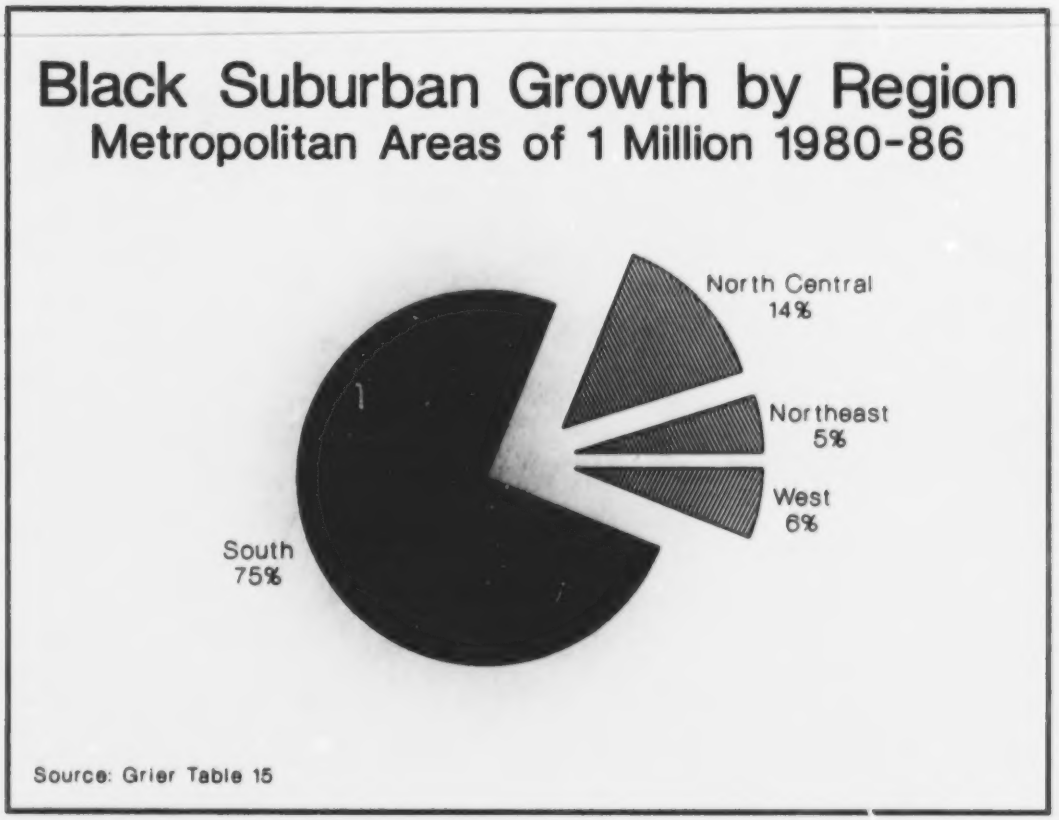
over 33% of all Hispanic households had annual incomes of $10,000 or less. And when black families with moderate incomes suffer economic setbacks, they are more severe than those suffered by similar white households and more often lead to severe poverty. Indeed, since 1969 the share of extremely poor black households (incomes of $10,000 or less) has grown by over one-quarter (27%), as low and moderate income households have fallen into poverty. [Page, Grier, Turner & Page]

The Urban Underclass -- Although elusive of precise definition and measurement, an urban underclass of growing numbers exists in the poorest, predominantly minority inner city neighborhoods. Persistent poverty, dropping out of high school, male joblessness, female-headed households, teenage pregnancy and dependence on public assistance are all parts of the syndrome. By most definitions, roughly half of the underclass are children under 18 years of age. Children and youths living in inner city neighborhoods plagued by these destructive pathologies are perhaps the most disadvantaged, having little hope of escaping cross-generational poverty. With conservative estimates placing the underclass population between 1 and 3 million, this aspect of metropolitan poverty is critical and potentially chronic. [Page]

Combined Effects of Race and Income on Black Suburbanization -- The central city concentrations of minorities are attributable in part to poverty, but at all income levels blacks and Hispanics are substantially more likely than whites to live in the central city. Even among affluent households, over

60 percent of blacks and about half of Hispanics live in the central cities. Regardless of housing cost, blacks are substantially under-represented in suburban housing. Blacks occupy over 30 percent of all low-cost metropolitan housing units, but less than 15 percent of the low-cost suburban units. Similarly, blacks occupy about 17 percent of all moderate-cost housing, but only about 8 percent of the moderate-cost units in the suburbs. Even the small share of blacks who can afford to occupy high-cost housing units are significantly more likely to live in the central city than in the suburbs. Although the suburbs are not completely closed, there have been only modest and selective suburban gains for blacks, despite the availability of moderate cost suburban housing. [Turner & Page]

Recent Downturn in Black Migration to the Suburbs -- During suburban migration peaks of the 1960s, only 750,000 blacks moved to the suburbs, in contrast to 15 million whites. In the 1970s, as adjusted for changes in census definitions, black suburban migration more than doubled, averaging 177,000 annually. During the 1980s, the trend of increasing black migration to the suburbs has been reversed, with only 156,000 blacks moving to the suburbs annually. This decline is reflected in the pattern for the metropolitan areas with 1 million or more, where the black share of suburban growth fell from 15.9% in the 1970s to 14.6% in the 1980s. It also appears that in a sizeable majority of these large metropolitan areas, black suburbanization was heavily concentrated in one county. [Grier]



Southern Domination of Recent Black Suburban Growth -- During the 1980s, Washington, Baltimore, Atlanta, Miami, Tampa, Fort Lauderdale, Dallas, Houston, New Orleans and San Antonio have accounted for over 75% of black suburban increase, although they have only one-third of the black metropolitan population. In addition, the areas with the largest black percentages in their central cities had the largest black suburban gains, and the majority of black growth occurred in areas which already had 100,000 or more black suburbanites in 1980. Nonetheless, while black suburban growth has been strongest during the 1980s in areas where growth had been strongest in the 1970s, it has also been strong in areas where it was previously moderate. It

appears, however, that most of the black suburban growth in the 1970s and 1980s has been an extension of previously segregated housing patterns. [Grier]

Housing Supply and Cost Constraints on Minority Opportunities -- Most poor families pay considerably more than standard affordability levels for housing, while most affluent families pay less. Only moderate income owners and renters are likely to have housing cost burdens close to the normative standard. Given the high costs borne by poor households, it is not surprising that there is a serious shortage of housing that poor families can reasonably afford. Almost no owner-occupied dwellings are affordable for the poor, and in the rental stock, demand is three times the supply of affordable rental units. In contrast, there does not appear to be a comparable nationwide shortage of moderate cost housing for either renters or owners, since these units account for almost two thirds of both the rental and owner-occupied stock.[2] [Turner & Page]

Effects of the Low Income Housing Shortage -- An analysis of 5 metropolitan areas confirms that the supply of units that the poor can afford falls woefully short of needs of

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2. Families falling at the lower end of moderate income households may not be able to afford the unit that is actually affordable to households in the middle of that class. Particularly in view of the severe low income housing shortage that forces poor families to pay excessive portions of their income to live in moderate cost units, it is likely that less affluent moderate income families find it difficult to secure the less expensive units of moderate cost housing. In addition, some affluent households occupy units in the moderate price range, and some units classified as moderate cost may in fact include luxury efficiency apartments as well as modest three bedroom houses.

poor households, amounting to, at best, half of the number of poor households. And in some metropolitan areas, examples include Chicago, Baltimore and possibly Atlanta, the number of households with annual income of less than $ 25,000 exceeds the combined number of low and moderate cost units. In these cities, the shortage of low cost units does increase the pressure on the moderate cost stock, so that moderate income families, too, may have difficulty finding affordable accommodations. [Turner & Page]

Suburban Housing for Low and Moderate Income Families-- Nationwide, poor families are clearly excluded from the suburbs; the few units that they can reasonably afford are concentrated in central cities, and are predominantly rental. But moderate cost housing is quite evenly divided between central cities and suburbs. Thus, as a general rule, there is no reason to conclude that housing affordable for moderate income families is unavailable in suburban areas. In some metropolitan areas, however, (Chicago and Baltimore are examples) moderate cost units are still concentrated in the central city while the suburbs lack such housing. [Turner & Page]

Residential and Educational Segregation -- Since a family's residential location usually dictates its choice of schools, metropolitan patterns of segregation extend to both. Because of the concentrations of minorities in the central cities and of young white families in the suburbs, most large metropolitan areas now have predominantly minority schools in the

central city surrounded by suburban school systems most of which are virtually all-white. Residential segregation produces segregated neighborhood schools and the necessity of busing if the school integration mandated by the Supreme Court's Brown decision is to be achieved. Significantly, there is also a relationship between central city school districts with higher levels of school integration and higher levels of housing integration in the city. Similarly, on a metropolitan-wide basis during the 1970s, there was a clear relationship between greater school desegregation and greater housing desegregation, which was significant in the South and strong in the West. In addition, the timing of school desegregation, which took place in the early 1970s, and housing desegregation gains, which were registered at the end of the decade, suggests that desegregated schools may have increased housing integration in these areas. [Orfield]

Educational Inequality in Segregated Schools --

Segregated schools provide profoundly unequal opportunities not only educationally, but also in terms of access to mainstream society and to economic mobility. Schools with high concentrations of minority and low income students tend to have much higher dropout rates, much lower achievement scores, much higher proportions of children held back in their grades, many more overage students, less adequate college preparatory courses, and much lower college entrance exam scores. Metropolitan educational inequality is also directly related to residential segregation, and access to housing opportunities in white areas

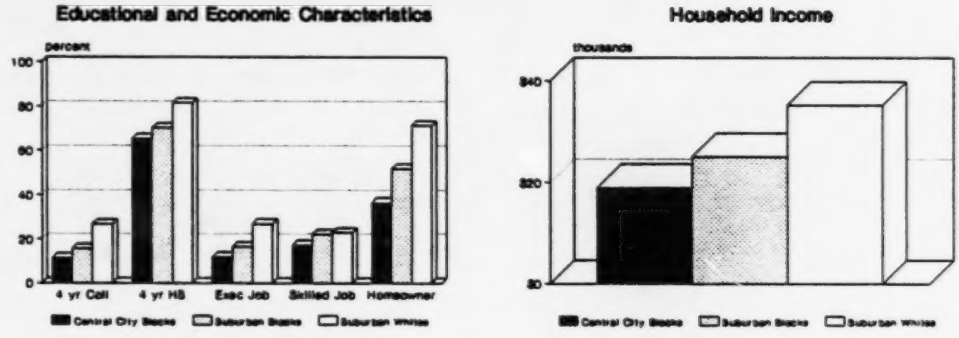
for minority families is likely to produce access to better schooling. Los Angeles starkly illustrates the pattern. Over the last decade, rapid increases in the proportion of poor black and Hispanic students in the public schools and a sharp increase in segregation of Hispanic students has been accompanied by a growth in the achievement gap between city and suburban schools as well as substantial increases in dropout rates. Although compensatory education may well have improved the performance of students, in California it was not enough to close the gap between predominantly minority and poor schools and those with fewer low income children. Studies of desegregation efforts in Hartford and Chicago provide evidence that inner city and underclass youth can compete and succeed in suburban schools. Thus, educational inequalities in segregated schools perpetuate a systematic, inter-generational system of poverty as low income children suffer much higher dropout rates and with corresponding economic losses as adults continue in poverty. [Orfield]

Continuing Minority Economic Inequalities -- Blacks experience severe economic disadvantages vis-a-vis whites in unemployment rates, average income, poverty rates (particularly among children) and dependence on government transfer payments. Minorities made significant progress in earnings between the mid-1960s and mid-1970s, but since the mid-seventies, there has been little additional gain, with nonwhite males leveling off at about 70% of their white counterparts' wages. In addition, post World War II earning gains have been much larger for nonwhite women

than for nonwhite men, so that two-earner families have nearly achieved parity with whites while single-earner families have lagged behind. Nationwide, in the 1980s, black have suffered an unemployment rate 2.3 times that of whites. Hispanics also suffer higher unemployment rates that fall about halfway between those for blacks and whites. High unemployment and low labor force participation rates among young blacks are particularly prevalent in large metropolitan areas. For example, in Chicago, for 1986 black teenage unemployment was 59.3% while white teenage unemployment was 12.2%. Blacks who do secure jobs, particularly central city residents, also suffer from wage discrimination -- Price and Mills (1985) estimate that earnings of "suburban white males exceed those of central city black males by nearly 49.7%."

Hispanics must also confront additional barriers to employment. Particularly in states such as California, which have enacted legislation recognizing English as their single, official language, employment opportunities for non-English speaking populations are less available than those for English speakers. The recently adopted federal Immigration Reform and Control Act, with its employer sanctions provisions, also may reduce job availability for Hispanics populations generally as employers hire non-Hispanics who are obviously legal. Both blacks and Hispanics thus continue to be underemployed and to face additional barriers to full integration into the workforce. [Vroman]

Blacks and Suburban Whites
Current Population Survey -- 1986



Source: Grier Table 20

Racial Impact of Metropolitan Employment Losses -- Since World War II, the share of the nation's jobs located in the older industrial Mid-Atlantic and East North Central regions has dropped from one-half to one-third. Most significantly, since 1974 these regions lost nearly 2 million jobs in mining, manufacturing and transportation, the three industries where blacks have realized high earnings. In particular between 1948 and 1977, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit, where nearly one third of all central city blacks live, lost nearly a million manufacturing jobs. In 1980 nearly 9 million blacks resided in the major northern industrial states of the Mid-Atlantic and East North Central regions, where there are now

fewer high paying industrial jobs relative to the size of their black population. This regional loss is compounded by the intra-metropolitan labor market disadvantages suffered by black men including unequal access to stable and high-paying jobs, lower rates of career earnings growth, higher job turnover rates, and greater frictional and cyclical unemployment. [Vroman, Rabin]

Growth in the Suburban Share of Metropolitan Jobs -- Between 1970 and 1984 northern central cities experienced major reductions in total employment while employment in their suburbs grew modestly. In the south and west, suburban employment growth has outstripped the modest gains of the central cities. The pattern of central city decline and suburban employment growth has been pointed out by Kasarda (1985), who found that in 12 major U.S. metropolitan areas, central cities lost over 2.1 million jobs between 1948 and 1977 while their suburban rings gained almost 4 million jobs. In addition, entry level jobs, which are vital for teenagers, are being created principally in the suburbs, while the educational requirements of newer jobs in the central cities, which increasingly are in the service sector or information processing, are much higher than those of the manufacturing jobs that have left.

A smaller proportion of blacks than whites remain employed at plants relocating from the central city to the suburbs, and in metropolitan areas generally black employment shares decline the further a census tract is geographically from black populations centers. A recent longitudinal study of

Chicago and Los Angeles (Leonard 1987) provides direct evidence of the relationship between residential segregation, employers' location, and the racial composition of their workforce. Concluding that "distance from the main ghetto is one of the strongest and most significant determinants of levels and changes in the racial composition of the workforce," Leonard specifically finds that the "further away from the ghetto an establishment is, the fewer blacks it employs and the slower the rate at which it adds blacks to the workforce over time." The racial impacts of this shift reflect the disproportionate absence of housing mobility for blacks and the higher level of transit dependence among black workers. [Vroman]

Minority Transit Dependence -- Blacks, particularly the poor who lack automobiles, have been isolated by racial restrictions on their choice of living place and the process of metropolitan decentralization, which has moved most employment opportunities beyond the reach of public transit. In 1980, nearly two out of every five central city black households lacked an automobile, and central city blacks are more than twice as likely as whites to use public transit to travel to and from work. In the northeast, nearly half of black central city workers depend on public transit to get to work. Although white collar employment has grown in the central business districts of some metropolitan areas with rail transit -- notably, New York, Boston, Atlanta, Washington and San Francisco, existing public transit systems that converge on the central cities are

increasingly inadequate means of reaching suburban blue collar jobs. New low skill construction and retail jobs are being located in outer suburbs where they are practically inaccessible to minorities concentrated in the central cities. For example, fast food jobs that pay $5.00 per hour rather than $3.35 are in the suburbs twenty miles from the city. The number of suburban workplaces accessible by public transit from the central city is extremely small and getting smaller, and there is little intra-suburban transit that would allow access to these sites for suburbanites without automobiles. Transportation facilities and employment locations have thus mirrored suburban development, further reinforcing the isolation of central city minority and underclass populations. These patterns of development must be considered along with residential and educational segregation in accessing the metropolitan racial split. [Rabin, Orfield]

B. PROSPECTIVE REMEDIAL POLICIES

Addressing the inter-related problems of metropolitan segregation requires integrated policies that build on past programs that have been effective. The authors of the six studies of metropolitan segregation put forward policy concepts and their observations suggest others, not all of which are backed by a firm body of knowledge. These policy alternatives have been meshed together, and in some cases extrapolated from, in the following pages. These ideas are by no means a comprehensive package of recommended policies, but rather represent

some first thoughts about the possible directions coordinated policies could take. The final section of this paper outlines both a general strategy for improving the lot of urban minorities and presents an agenda information needed to pursue it.

In housing, past programatic successes suggest a coordinated metropolitan policy of housing allowances to all poor families, subsidies to help moderate income first homebuyers, housing production incentives, targetted fair housing enforcement and affirmative marketing to minorities. The underclass phenomenon with its concentration of poverty populations in the central cities underscores the importance of genuine, informed freedom of choice in housing opportunities and suggests that the locations of new low income housing should be balanced throughout our metropolitan areas.

School desegregation on a metropolitan-wide basis has been most successful in enhancing minority educational opportunities, suggesting policies of area-wide desegregation through inter-jurisdictional student transfers, combined with compensatory programs and magnet schools in the central cities. While inner city and underclass children and youth can benefit from desegregation, programs directed toward their most special needs are also indicated.

Minority gains during the full employment periods of the 1960s, when well-paying low and moderate skill level jobs were plentiful in the central cities, suggest metropolitan-based policies of affirmative recruitment and access to suburban jobs,

as well as programs facilitating inter-regional migration from depressed areas.

Finally, sprawling suburban commercial development along publicly financed highways underscores the need for a federally promoted comprehensive metropolitan land-use planning process in which social equity and serving the transit dependent take precedence over the narrow objective of accommodating traffic in the selection and location of transportation facilities.

Each of these policies shares a metropolitan orientation and seeks to address one aspect of the metropolitan segregation that is perpetuated by racially concentrated residential patterns. Thus, opening up housing opportunities outside traditionally minority areas and changing the current segregated residential patterns would also enhance minority education and employment opportunities. Programs for improving minority housing opportunities are likewise more apt to avoid resegregation and "white flight" if they can be coordinated with education, employment and transit policies that promote full minority participation in desegregated metropolitan communities.

Housing Policy Matrix -- Multi-faceted housing problems cannot be addressed by any single policy solution. For example, policies that address affordability problems are completely different from the types of policies that can be effective for attacking racial discrimination. The Housing Policy Matrix that appears on the page 24 identifies six generic housing policies

(down the left-hand column), and arrays them against five broad housing problems (across the top row). Each cell in this matrix indicates whether, and under what conditions, a particular policy can be effective for addressing a given housing problem. The matrix includes five housing problems:

> **Poor households must pay too much for decent housing.** There is a shortage of housing that poor households can afford, with most poor households spending an excessive share of their income for housing.
>
> **Housing affordable for the poor is scarce in areas of job growth.** Housing units that poor families can reasonably afford are generally concentrated in the central city, and poor households will be unlikely to find affordable housing close to suburban job opportunities.
>
> **Working class households must pay too much for housing.** This does not generally appear to be the case, although in some metropolitan areas, housing affordable for working class families may be in short supply.
>
> **Housing affordable for the working class is scarce in areas of job growth.** Although moderate-cost housing is quite evenly distributed between central cities and suburbs, this does not ensure that housing opportunities in areas of employment opportunity are necessarily affordable for working class families.
>
> **Minorities lack access to housing in areas of job growth.** Even after controlling for income differences, blacks are clearly underrepresented in suburban areas.

The extent to which each of these problems exists in a particular metropolitan area will determine the mix of policies that is appropriate to ensure housing for poor and working class households and to expand minority access to housing in areas of expanding employment opportunities. [Turner & Page]

HOUSING POLICY MATRIX

PROBLEMS / POLICIES	Poor households must pay too much for decent housing	Hsng affordable for the poor is scarce in areas of job growth	Working class households must pay too much for housing	Hsng affrdable for wrkng class scarce in areas of job growth	Minorities lack access to hsng in areas of job growth
Housing allowances for poor households	YES IF: supply of mod-cost units is adequate in the metro area	YES IF: mod-cost units are located in areas of job growth	NO	NO	NO
Deep subsidies for the production of low cost units	YES	YES IF: subsidized units are sited in areas of job growth	YES IF: poor are competing with wrkng class for mod cost units	NO	YES IF: subsidized units are marketed to minorities
Shallow subsidies for the production of mod cost units	NO	NO	YES	YES IF: new units built in of job gr	YES IF: new units are marketed to minorities
Elimination of costly zoning requirements, "inclusionary zoning"	NO	NO	YES IF: zoning/bldng codes prevent mod cost construction	YES IF: zoning/bldng codes preven mod cost construction	NO
Aggressive enforcement of fair housing laws	YES IF: discrimination bars some poor minorities from affrdble units	NO	NO	YES IF: discrim bars some mod-inc minorities from affrdble units	YES IF: discriminatory practices are limiting minority access
Affirmative marketing to integrate suburban communities	YES IF: lack of info bars some poor minorities from affrdble units	NO	NO	YES IF: lack of info bars mod-inc minorities from affrdble units	YES

A Coordinated Metropolitan Housing Policy -- We face a serious national housing problem, for black households do not enjoy equal access to affordable housing opportunities in most parts of metropolitan areas. Discriminatory practices by sellers, landlords and real estate agents, as well as the vestiges of past discrimination may explain this disturbing pattern. Indeed, the last HUD Housing Market Practices Survey in 1977 showed that overt housing discrimination was pervasive and more recent studies have documented its continuation. Black homebuyers and renters may be deterred not only by overt discrimination, such as racial steering and redlining, but may also be unaware housing opportunities outside of traditionally minority areas or unwilling to move into segregated white neighborhoods fearing hostile reactions from the current residents. To effectively open up housing opportunities to minorities, a coordinated series of federal, state and local programs is necessary at the metropolitan level. Independently implemented policies that have had some success include programs of direct housing assistance for the poor, mortgage subsidies to aid moderate income homebuyers, housing subsidies to encourage new construction of affordable units, inclusionary zoning policies, targetted enforcement of the Fair Housing Act and affirmative housing marketing. Policies designed to address problems of housing affordability and to expand minority access to nonminority neighborhoods must be tailored to local circumstances, because the supply, location and availability of

affordable housing to minorities vary sharply from one metropolitan area to the next. Through coordinated planning and implementation, policymakers can tailor the exact mix of these programs to the unique circumstances of a particular metropolitan setting, and thereby enhance the effectiveness of all.

Housing Allowances for Poor Families -- Housing allowances can be an extremely effective mechanism for addressing the affordability problems of poor households as long as there are sufficient, standard quality units available at the applicable fair market rent. Under current programs, only 20 percent of the eligible poor receive direct housing assistance, and local agencies do not provide recipients with comprehensive aid in finding suitable units located throughout the metropolitan area. In markets where moderate cost units are in short supply, households who receive housing allowances may still have difficulty finding suitable units with rents below the fair market rent. Housing allowances can help alleviate an overall shortage of units that poor families can afford, however, if the metropolitan area's supply of moderate-cost units is adequate, and can enable poor households to afford housing close to areas of job growth, if the supply of moderate-cost housing in these areas is adequate.

Assistance for Moderate Income Homebuyers -- Below market rate mortgage programs can be effective means of enhancing minority housing opportunities, particularly when targetted to first-time homebuyers. Such programs are widely used by state

and local agencies and can help recipients move to areas close to job opportunities. If these subsidized mortgage programs were expanded and aggressively promoted among minority households, residential neighborhoods close to employment centers may experience greater desegregation as minorities are allowed to exercise fuller freedom of choice in selecting their dwelling place.

Subsidized Production of Low-Cost Housing --Substantial production subsidies, which include below-market financing, low income tax credits to property owners, and rent subsidies tied to particular housing units, have been effective in inducing private developers to build and rehabilitate housing for the poor. Although there appears to be no national shortage of moderate cost housing, there are metropolitan areas where the supply of moderate-cost housing is not sufficient to meet the needs of both poor and moderate income families, even if housing allowances were available to all who need them. Production subsidies may also be called for in metropolitan areas where the objective is to increase the supply of affordable housing in a particular area, such as neighborhoods near a growing employment center.

Metropolitan Land-Use Reform -- Exclusionary zoning requirements -- large lot sizes, multi-family and manufactured housing prohibitions, and high levels of infrastructure amenities -- often raise suburban housing costs beyond the reach of moderate income households. Exclusionary zoning in areas where employment growth is occurring will limit opportunities for

moderate income families to live near the new jobs. This pattern of exclusion should be addressed as part of a comprehensive federally promoted metropolitan land-use planning process. Metropolitan land-use planning should also take advantage of "inclusionary" zoning, which requires new housing developments to include a share of units affordable for moderate income families. Such policies not only encourage the production of moderate cost housing units, but also ensure that affordable units are built in every new development project. Particularly when affordable housing is not available in suburban areas with employment concentrations, inclusionary zoning can open up housing opportunities for moderate income minorities.

Fair Housing Law -- Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act is the principal federal legislation enacted to combat housing discrimination. Title VIII covers most private housing transactions, and explicitly outlaws three categories of discriminatory practices (see Section 804):

> To refuse to sell or rent after the making of a bona fide offer, or to refuse to negotiate for the sale or rental of, or otherwise make unavailable or deny, a dwelling to any person because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
>
> To discriminate against any person in the terms, conditions, or privileges of sale or rental of a dwelling, or in the provision of services or facilities in connection therewith, because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.
>
> To represent to any person because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin that any dwelling is not available for inspection, sale, or rental when such dwelling is in fact

so available.[3]

HUD Fair Housing Enforcement -- The Department of Housing and Urban Development is charged with enforcing Title VIII in three basic ways:

1. Investigating housing discrimination complaints and resolving them through "informal methods of negotiation and persuasion" (Section 810(a));

2. Referring fair housing complaints to state and local enforcement agencies whenever there are fair housing laws that are "substantially equivalent" to Title VIII (Section 810(c)).

3. Conducting educational programs and to seek voluntary compliance by the housing industry as part of its efforts to combat housing discrimination (Section 809).

State and Local Fair Housing Enforcement -- Due to the weakness of the HUD conciliation mechanism, and with the growing number of state and local fair housing statutes, fair housing enforcement at this level has become increasingly important. State and local enforcement mechanisms, which often include provisions for injunctive and monetary relief for housing discrimination, are also more potent than HUD's voluntary conciliation methods. Starting in 1980, HUD has encouraged such

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3. Other federal fair housing mandates include Executive Order 11063, which bans discrimination in federally owned, operated or assisted housing, as well as discriminatory lending practices in federally insured loans; and the 1974 Community Development Act, which conditions a locality's block grant eligibility upon submission to HUD of plans that assess "the needs of lower-income families ... residing in or expected to reside in the community" and consider the "location of proposed housing for lower-income persons" in order to "avoid undue concentrations" of low-income persons in low-income areas.

enforcement through funding and technical assistance to state and local fair housing agencies under the Fair Housing Assistance Program (FHAP). This program has significantly improved the performance levels of state and local agencies in processing discrimination complaints, largely through increased staff and enhanced processing procedures. This larger role for state and local agencies in processing discrimination complaints is one available means for increasing fair housing enforcement that should be pursued. Nevertheless, the overall number of complaints that are actually processed by HUD and FHAP agencies still represents only a small fraction of the estimated two million incidents of housing discrimination that occur each year.

Justice Department Fair Housing Enforcement -- In addition to HUD's enforcement responsibilities, Title VIII authorizes the Department of Justice to bring suits in housing discrimination cases that involve a "pattern or practice" of fair housing violations, or that raise issues of "general public importance." However, this enforcement mechanism has had very limited application, partly because the vast majority of housing discrimination complaints received by HUD do not meet the "pattern and practice" or "general public importance" standard, and also because the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department has not been anxious to pursue these cases, in part because it lacks sufficient resources to bring large numbers of housing discrimination cases. Major fair housing litigation, particularly where combined with school desegregation claims,

can provide some of the most sweeping judicial action to address these inter-related patterns of discrimination.

Private Fair Housing Enforcement -- Private citizens also have the right to bring civil actions for housing discrimination violations under Title VIII of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, and when a civil suit is successful, courts may award actual damages in addition to civil penalties up to $1,000 (Section 812(c)). Thus, private litigation plays an important role in the enforcement of Title VIII, but it is heavily dependent upon the support of private fair housing centers -- non-profit organizations that specialize in testing, complaint investigation, and litigation support. To bolster private enforcement efforts, Congress recently established the HUD administered Fair Housing Initiative Program (FHIP), which will provide funding to private fair housing organizations to undertake testing to detect housing discrimination beginning in FY1989. FHIP can expand significantly the role that private fair housing groups play in combating discrimination in housing, and offers another means to strengthen fair housing enforcement.

Targetted Fair Housing Enforcement and Affirmative Marketing -- The national commitment to open housing is two decades old, but discriminatory market practices still exist in some areas. To secure the greatest ameliorative impact, federal and state fair housing enforcement efforts should be targetted on the metropolitan areas with the largest black and Hispanic concentrations. Where discrimination is the primary factor

limiting minority access to areas of job growth, then a program of aggressive fair housing enforcement should be combined with an aggressive metropolitan campaign to inform minority households about such communities and to market housing opportunities in these areas to them. Indeed, affirmative housing marketing is equally appropriate where residential segregation persists in part because of minorities' fear of moving to white communities or because minority families are unaware of housing opportunities. In addition, discriminatory housing practices and their residual effects distort metropolitan housing markets to the disadvantage of all, but particularly of the poorest and most economically vulnerable. When the supply of housing is tight relative to demand, which we know is the case with the metropolitan poor, landlords and real estate agents can more easily afford to discriminate on the basis of race, further reducing the already scarce pool of affordable housing. This particularized impact underscores the importance of removing the distorting effect of discrimination through targetted enforcement and affirmative housing marketing.

Coordinating Metropolitan School Desegregation with Housing Policies -- An interlocking program addressing both residential and educational segregation is a feasible policy option that was recently formulated in the landmark Yonkers decision, which for the first time imposed joint housing and school desegregation plans on a suburban community that had excluded minorities. This court-ordered remedy points the way

toward a coordinated policy that draws on the mutually reinforcing effects of educational and residential integration. To secure lasting metropolitan desegregation, however, the courts and policymakers must apply this approach on a broader basis, imposing both school plans that encompass much more of the housing market area and supporting housing integration policies that extend to the full metropolitan area. Fair housing policies should be coordinated with school desegregation plans that reach as much as possible of the housing market and are specifically designed to reinforce the stability of existing residentially integrated communities that could otherwise be exposed to resegregation following the loss of integrated public schools.

Jurisdictional Barriers to School Desegregation -- Historically, school system boundaries have often limited the geographical breadth of court-imposed desegregation plans. The jurisdictional fragmentation of metropolitan areas has thus perpetuated minority educational inequalities by insulating many predominantly white suburbs from school integration. Desegregation plans extending to entire metropolitan areas have, however, produced larger increases in integration than other approaches and have enjoyed much more stable white central city enrollments than were achieved in other, less integrated central cities. Metropolitan school desegregation tends to place most children in integrated but predominantly white, middle class schools, and makes the condition of central city schools a matter of urgent area-wide concern. In short, metropolitan

desegregation plans produce lasting school desegregation by overcoming the jurisdictional boundaries that separate suburb from city.

White Flight -- Residential segregation, patterns of ghetto expansion and white flight are often pointed to as the reasons why school desegregation fails. Despite widespread belief to the contrary, desegregation plans do not produce substantial flight of residents from the city, though they may speed up the decline in white students in the public schools. The acceleration in the decline of whites in central city schools is generally observed when a desegregation plan leaves the suburbs untouched and thereby increases the perceived racial differences between city and suburban schools. Research on white flight has consistently found, however, that the most extensive school desegregation plans, requiring busing across entire metropolitan areas, are the most stable. The greatest stability of white enrollment is associated with the most massive desegregation plans in the nation, the city-suburban racial balance plans implemented in a number of major southern metropolitan areas in the early 1970s. In addition, a metropolitan desegregation plan that places all students in predominantly white middle class schools may well increase the likelihood of white return to central city public schools, a phenomenon which occurred in several central city neighborhoods in Wilmington after implementation of a such a plan.

Benefits of Metropolitan School Desegregation --

Studies of school desegregation in Hartford, Milwaukee, St. Louis and Chicago demonstrate that large numbers of inner city minority families could benefit from the access to suburban schools that would be produced through housing integration. The 15 year Hartford study shows very strong long-term benefits associated with the transfer of inner city black students to suburban schools including declining dropout rates, gains in enrollment and success in college, and increased likelihood of living in an integrated neighborhood. In Milwaukee, parents of black children attending suburban schools began to consider moving outside the city to suburban locations like those that their children's experience had made familiar to the family. In St. Louis, large numbers of inner city black youths voluntarily transferred to suburban schools producing substantial integration throughout many suburban districts. And in Chicago, where low income families were moved from Chicago Housing Authority projects to the suburbs pursuant to court orders implemented as part of the resolution of the Gautreaux litigation, most students adjusted successfully both socially and academically, with a substantial number receiving approximately the same grades and a small number of blacks who had done very poorly in the city receiving much higher grades in the vastly more competitive suburban schools.

If low income students can be successful in white middle class schools when they go home to depressed ghetto neighborhoods, even better schooling successes as residents of

integrated communities are to be expected. And, in fact, there is significant evidence from the Wilmington desegregation experience to show that the benefits of integrated schooling are greatest when students live in integrated neighborhoods.

Combining Effective Desegregation Techniques -- The successful St. Louis program of voluntary transfers by inner city children and the proven effectiveness of magnet schools as a means of voluntarily integrating central city systems suggests that a combined metropolitan approach should make full use of both desegregation methods. Improvements in inner city schools through compensatory education programs, as well as securing additional financial resources from the state or federal levels to redress the fiscal incapacities of the central city districts are also key elements in a combined school desegregation policy. On a metropolitan basis, however, there are substantial benefits for students from the central cities, even those from the most isolated ghetto communities of Chicago, in obtaining access to middle class suburban school opportunities through combined housing and school integration policies. These real gains, even for poorly prepared inner city children, underscore the need for metropolitan-wide school desegregation that opens suburban educational and housing opportunities to minority children.

Preserving Neighborhood Desegregation Gains -- School desegregation policies should complement, not erode, residential desegregation. Recent studies confirm the relationship between increased area-wide school desegregation in the 1970s and

increased residential desegregation, which suggests that stable residential desegregation may be greatly aided by the most far-reaching school desegregation plans, which produce the most lasting effects over the largest amount of the housing market. Resegregation of suburban areas is a hazard that school desegregation plans can also help to address, by exempting from busing children who reside in stable desegregated neighborhoods that can support desegregated schools. As the Milwaukee study showed, a school integration experience can broaden household knowledge and potential housing choices for minority families. Children who attend integrated schools are also much more likely to live in integrated communities as adults. It thus appears that there is a long-term positive interactive cycle in which school desegregation can help to promote residential desegregation in metropolitan areas.

Maximizing Metropolitan Employment Opportunities for Minorities -- Improving minority educational opportunities through school desegregation is all the more important in view of the recent shifts in central city employment to information processing and service sector jobs, with their higher educational requirements. Housing desegregation through genuine freedom of choice policies, which open up residential locations near job sites, can also improve minority access to lesser skilled positions in commercial and light manufacturing firms. Both school desegregation and open housing can thus contribute to a metropolitan-based minority employment policy that also includes

affirmative recruitment by employers at both suburban and central city locations, as well as aggressive enforcement anti-discrimination laws. Voluntary relocation assistance programs, including aid in finding housing, obtaining daycare and securing transportation to and from work, can also complement affirmative minority recruitment by suburban employers.

Incoherent Suburban Development -- Sprawling patterns of metropolitan commercial and industrial development are the product of local government zoning policies aimed at fostering tax-generating development along the federally funded highways, which were not built as part of a coherent metropolitan land-use plan. Dependence on the automobile and decline in public transit are also consequences of federal policies designed to serve the single, narrow objective of reducing traffic congestion by building more highways. While 71 percent of metropolitan area blacks remain concentrated in the central cities, suitable jobs, particularly blue collar employment, are concentrating in the suburbs. Suburban jobs are inaccessible to the transit dependent regardless of their qualifications, and employment isolation reinforces the racial separation of society by adding segregated workplaces to already segregated neighborhoods and schools. Mere relocation of transit dependent blacks to suburbs without automobiles or other means of transportation would, however, actually reduce their mobility. Evidence from pilot projects in late 1960s and early 1970s, which provided bus transit between central cities and suburban employment sites, suggests that for

the majority of riders, the service made it possible to secure and to retain employment. Transit services that facilitates such central city to suburb commuting should certainly be considered, along with car and van pool programs and employer-specific transit service.

Toward a Federally Promoted Metropolitan Land-Use Planning Process -- A coordinated metropolitan planning process is one means of overcoming the jurisdictional fragmentation between local and some state governments in many metropolitan areas, and offers promise of redressing patterns of residential segregation through enhancement of minority housing opportunities as a central element of a coordinated metropolitan desegregation policy. Federal grants to aid regional planning are one means of promoting such a process, as is the tying of federal transportation and other funding to the satisfactory completion of coordinated planning. Such a process could also foster incremental rationalization of land uses in relation to existing transportation facilities, particularly rail lines. Such a transit-conscious approach could aid in the formation of critical masses of employment and housing that could be served along existing rights-of-way. A comprehensive land-use planning process at the metropolitan-wide level could thus serve social equity, environmental protection and resource conservation instead of solely the narrow objective of accommodating traffic. This re-orientation in the selection and location of transportation facilities is the final key element in beginning

to address the metropolitan segregation dilemma.

* * * * *

The foregoing policy thoughts share a metropolitan orientation and attempt to move toward a coordinated programatic response to metropolitan segregation. They emphasize federal programs that provide tools that can be deployed by state and local governments. These thoughts are far from a comprehensive policy package, but they may shed some light on what additional research is needed in moving toward coordinated policies that address the many aspects of metropolitan segregation.

A RESEARCH AGENDA TO SUPPORT AN ACTION PROGRAM FOR IMPROVING OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES IN METRO AREAS

This section presents a research agenda based upon the six papers commissioned for the project, synthesized in the last section, and the discussion at the two day symposium held to consider the summaries of the papers, the authors' policy recommendations, and a draft of the research agenda. (A list of attendees is in Annex B.) Since a principal result of the symposium was the decision to broaden the focus of the project to include improving housing, education, and employment opportunities of minorities in place, as well as by acting to foster residential mobility, the agenda has been broadened correspondingly.

Residential mobility, through genuine and informed freedom of choice in housing, is viewed as a useful tool for permitting minority working class families to move closer to jobs and to stronger school districts. Mobility can also reduce densities of underclass neighborhoods, thereby reducing the pressure on local institutions and enhancing their ability to work with the remaining population. Having said this, we recognize the need for substantial assistance to central city minorities for training, job information, improved schools, and better housing. The emphasis in this work, however, remains on actions to improve the availability of housing and to enhance the ability of minorities to choose among an area's housing alternatives.

This emphasis is retained because it is our relative strength and because concentrating in the near term on one area (albeit in a broad context) is likely to be more effective than a more scattered approach.

To formulate an action-oriented research agenda required that we at least outline a strategy for assisting minorities, although the full development of this strategy will be a future product of both researchers and advocates. Based on the review papers and a distillation of the discussion at the symposium, we posit the following five elements of such a strategy.

Elements in a Strategy for Promoting Freedom of Housing Choice and Educational and Employment Opportunities for Working Class Minorities and the Underclass

-- promote the availability of affordable and adequate housing throughout the metropolitan area

-- promote genuine, informed freedom of choice in housing

-- promote "equal access" to suburban job opportunities through improved job information, combating suburban housing discrimination and thwarting employment discrimination

-- improve public transit access to central city and suburban job concentrations

-- promote economically integrated schools to enhance the education experience of minority children; where this is not possible, concentrate on improving the quality of minority central city schools.

Each of the elements, with the possible exception of that on

transportation, is, in at least some segments of American society, controversial or politically unpopular, and would likely be costly to implement. Consequently, it is essential that we have a compelling factual case before pursuing them through a program of legislation, litigation, enforcement, and public and private programs.

More broadly, we distinguish three distinct functions of a research program:

(a) to bolster the case for undertaking a particular initiative or expanding the resources devoted to it.

Example: making the case for strengthening Title VIII legislation or increasing the appropriations for the Fair Housing Assistance and Fair Housing Initiatives Programs.

(b) to determine how to target the available resources

Example: if a systematic program of housing audits indicates that welfare families suffer the highest incidence of discrimination in searching for housing, then enforcement resources could be concentrated on this group.

(c) to determine which interventions--both programmatic and in terms of enforcing existing laws--have the most promise.

Example: should housing vouchers or the construction of new housing for low income households be emphasized in assisting lower income households move near to jobs; which is more cost effective? Under what housing market conditions?

The research agenda summarized below is designed to support each of the strategy elements or goals listed above. Indeed, the agenda is organized under the same five points.

A review of the topics presented in the summary indicates that most of the analysis will involve in-depth studies for a few individual metropolitan areas. This suggests that for the

overall agenda to be efficiently executed, the project should select several metro areas in which all of the analysis will be done. This will permit the creation of an extremely rich data base for these areas over time which will be essential for understanding and addressing the more complex issues.

In Annex A we state each of the research items more fully and discuss how the research relates to an action oriented program of advocacy, litigation, and changes in existing government regulations and programs or creation of new ones. These expanded statements incorporate important points made during the symposium.

There are two closely related "next steps" in pursuing the ultimate objectives of the project listed in the Introduction, if the sponsoring foundations decide to go forward. One will be to determine the priority among the research topics stated here and to begin a program of studies. The other is to decide how to formally link the research program to the advocacy community. We expect the broad strategy outlined above to be refined both as research is carried out and as the productivity of various advocacy activities is assessed.

Summary of the Research Agenda

A. Promote affordable housing on metropolitan wide basis

1. Document the availability of housing in central city and suburban locations for working class and lower income households.

2. Analyze the extent to which concentration of the underclass has been due to conditions in the housing market.

3. Determine whether metropolitan areas are engaging in farsighted land use planning that in the long run will facilitate better minority job access and "recycling" of central cities for information intensive industries and as residences for some of their employees.

B. Promote genuine freedom of choice in housing

1. Document the extent of housing discrimination against welfare and underclass families who attempt to move to other areas.

2. Document the extent of racial discrimination in the suburbs and central cities against working class families. What forms does it take? Do central city minorities who obtain suburban jobs tend to relocate to the suburbs?

3. Assess the success of various efforts to promote "opening up the suburbs" for minorities

   -- metropolitan-wide or state-wide fair share plans, such as the Dayton Plan and the New Jersey Council on Fair Housing; inclusionary zoning

   -- shallow subsidies for homeownership, e.g., MRBs, and multifamily housing at the state level

4. Document the degree to which housing vouchers are being used by recipients to move to better neighborhoods, i.e., those with better access to jobs, less crime, and better school.

5. Evaluate the success of the few direct "suburbanization" efforts for low income households, e.g., Gautreaux Housing Demonstration.

6. How extensive and how accurate is the information

minorities have about housing opportunities outside of their immediate neighborhoods?

C. Promote "equal access" to appropriate suburban job opportunities.

1. Analyze the extent to which central city blue collar jobs, especially in those well-paying industries in which blacks have been substantially represented, which have left center cities have moved to suburban, exurban, or even more remote locations.

2. Thoroughly test the "spatial mismatch" hypothesis

3. Analyze the effects of firm relocation to suburban areas on minority employment and determine whether such firms discriminate against minorities in their new locations.

4. Document the degree of employment discrimination by suburban plants and warehouses against minorities for entry level positions.

5. Assess the quantity and quality of information central city minority workers have about employment opportunities in the suburbs. Also, assess the relationship between residential location and information about employment opportunities in non marginal jobs.

D. Improve public transit access to jobs

1. Document how many suburban jobs by skill level are accessible by transit from central city areas. What are the travel times and cost? Document the accessibility of central city job locations.

2. Determine how the job accessibility of central city minority residents has changed in the past decade, and what are the implications?

3. Identify alternative transportation configurations that could be effective and also minimize subsidy costs.

E. Promote economically integrated schools; where this is not possible, upgrade predominantly minority schools

1. Document the relationship between neighborhood environments, including socioeconomic composition of school populations, and educational outcomes and career success? Do

minority and poor children consistently do better in middle class schools even if the residential environment does not change? Is the answer different for "underclass" youth compared to children from working class families?

2. What techniques, besides metropolitan wide busing, have proven effective in assisting children living in disadvantaged areas markedly improve their educational achievements? Do magnet schools and voluntary transfers work? Who gets left behind?

3. What would it cost to implement the recommendations of various national and local panels for significantly upgrading the quality of predominantly minority schools?

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ANNEX A

Amplified Research Agenda

Annex A

AMPLIFIED RESEARCH AGENDA

Item A.1: Thoroughly document the availability of housing in suburban locations for working class and lower income households in several metropolitan areas.

(a) What are the characteristics--in particular, size (number of bedrooms) and physical adequacy--of the housing units that poor and working class families can afford and where are they located?

(b) Are the dwelling units that are actually available for occupancy--new units and units turning over--affordable for poor and working class families? Equally important, is there need to take action to preserve the existing stock of assisted housing?

(c) Where are the centers of employment growth in the metro area, and how affordable are housing opportunities in nearby communities?

(d) What local circumstances--spatial and economic development, demographic trends, jurisdictional boundaries, local land use, zoning, land costs, and regulatory policies--explain prevailing patterns of housing availability, affordability, and racial integration? Are there good models of what can be done to permit the development of affordable housing?

(e) How much information do central city minority residents who are looking for housing have about opportunities in other parts of the central city? in the suburbs?

Discussion. If an inadequate supply of housing affordable to working class families is found, then there is a strong case for federal, state, and local interventions to supply such housing--quite aside from the use of housing vouchers. The interventions would in particular address the impediments documented in section (d). In this regard, HUD should consider the kinds of conditions for the continued participation in the available federal housing programs that are part of the Housing Opportunity Plan proposed in the report of the National

Housing Task Force (1988, p.54). These include removal of zoning and land use barriers, and land acquisition and siting of affordable housing.

If a shortage of low income housing but an adequate supply of moderate income housing is found, then housing vouchers coupled with assistance in searching for new housing is the prescription.

If an adequate supply of low and moderate cost units is found, then the lack of minority occupancy in many areas suggests significant present and/or past housing discrimination and calls forth corresponding responses in terms of (a) initial testing for discrimination, and (b) if it is found, pursuing stronger fair housing legislation and enforcement.

The availability of affordable housing units does not benefit minorities if they do not know about them. It is likely that the "mental map" of persons living in underclass areas is especially restricted; thus even those receiving housing assistance through the Section 8 Existing program or vouchers will be severely disadvantaged in searching for units outside their immediate neighborhood. A modest study of the knowledge level of those looking for housing and their sources of information would provide the basis for determining how to get more information to interested households.

Item A.2: Analyze the extent to which the current degree of spatial concentration of the underclass in traditional inner city poverty neighborhoods can be explained by conditions in the local housing market over the past 10 to 15 years; an important factor may be the dispersal of public housing and other forms of housing assistance. (Also, see B.1.)

Discussion. Evidence in support of a "housing market" explanation for the severe concentration of the underclass would be the sharp

concentration (presently and historically) of low cost units (including those in subsidized housing projects) in certain pockets of the city combined with very low housing demand by "underclass" families. We know in general that public housing projects are sharply segregated by race (Goering & Modibo, 1988); and analysts are now examining the overlap between large public housing projects and underclass areas. Finding a relationship between the concentration of low cost units and the location of underclass neighborhoods would argue for an expanded program of housing vouchers and maybe construction subsidies as well, which would permit low income households to occupy other housing.

If large assisted housing projects are major foci of underclass neighborhoods, which appears likely, the case for future development to be of very small projects widely dispersed throughout the metropolitan area is strong (Yinger, 1986).

Item A.3: Determine whether metropolitan areas are engaging in farsighted land use planning, that will facilitate better minority job access and the "recycling" of central cities for information intensive industries and as residences for some of their employees.

Discussion. The broad patterns of metropolitan development for at least the next ten years are fairly clear, in part because the location decisions of major concerns have been planned and some are now being implemented. Manufacturing and other enterprises which are largely self sufficent will continue to shift to suburban and exurban locations, closer to their labor forces (Herbers, 1987). Some knowledge intensive industries will continue to find the high density-personal contact environment of the central business district essential for efficient operations.

Given this broad context, how well are metropolitan areas doing in what might be termed "social land use planning"? Are they planning for further developments so that they can achieve broader social goals, including zoning suburban areas for low and moderate income housing and planning the corresponding transportation services? Are metro governments making it easier for central business districts to expand or be remodeled to better accommodate growth in the "knowledge" industries; and, are they preparing central city neighborhoods to be attractive to childless families, "empty nesters" and single individuals who have shown strong preferences for the cultural and other urban amenities? By the year 2010 one quarter of the households in American will be non elderly single persons. Of these three-quarters will be in the 35-64 middle-aged group (Struyk, Turner, Ueno, 1987). This represents an enormous potential group for central cities to capture. What plans are being made to attract them?

If good examples of systematic forward planning of this type can be identified, what are the chances of it being replicated elsewhere? Are there special reasons for it happening where it is? How widely known are these exemplar cases?

It is worth noting that at the federal level regulations were promulgated by HUD and a corresponding Executive Order issued by the President in the last days of the Carter Administration for a broader enforcement of Section 808, Title VIII of the Fair Housing Act. These regulations would have required federal agencies to affirmatively help minorities in the conduct of their programs. This could have applied to the provision of roads and transportation services as well as the siting

of various federal buildings and installations. In short, the regulations could have greatly facilitated the type of systematic forward planning to the benefit of minorities just discussed. Unfortunately, the regulations were rescinded at the beginning of the Reagan Administration. But they remain as a model that could be followed in the future.

Item B.1: Document the extent of housing discrimination against welfare and other underclass families who attempt to move to better neighborhoods. Is such discrimination more virulent against them than against other minorities? Is it more intense in the suburbs than in more central locations?

B.2 What is the extent of housing discrimination against working class black and hispanic families in the suburbs? What forms does it take? What happens to working class minorities, initially living in central cities, who obtain jobs in the suburbs? Do they try to move close to their jobs? What impediments do they encounter or anticipate?

Discussion, B1/B2. Documenting the degree and nature of discrimination against "underclass" and working class families is essential for determining the need for stronger laws, more enforcement resources, and the type of problems against which to deploy the available resources. The greatest opportunity for carrying out a very large program of audits for these groups will be to cooperate with HUD in conducting its national Housing Discrimination Study, a national program of systematic audits.

Documentation of discrimination at the local level often produces local responses in the form of stronger local open housing laws and/or enforcement. Boston offers a good example of this. Similarly, it is worth noting that in Louisville repeated systemic audits by the local fair housing group had the effect of reducing the amount of

discrimination against minorities substantially.

Central city minorities who get jobs in the suburbs have the greatest incentives for moving to the suburbs. Hence, studying their movement patterns may be especially instructive. If minorities are not moving closer to their jobs, lack of affordable hosing could explain the lack of movement. If such housing is available and workers believe that they would encounter problems in attempting to relocate, then corresponding affirmative marketing initiatives, accompanied by a rigorous program of housing audits for enforcement, could be undertaken and their success evaluated.

Item B.3: How successful have metropolitan-wide or state-level open housing programs--such as the Dayton Plan, the New Jersey Council on Fair Housing, and inclusionary zoning--been in permitting blacks to move to the suburbs? What conditions made success possible? Have these programs changed in form over the past several years?
To what extent have shallow homeownership and multifamily rental subsidies at the state level, such as mortgage revenue bond programs, been used to promote black residential opportunities in the suburbs? To what extent have blacks participated in such programs?

Discussion. Metrowide fair share plans gathered momentum in the last half of the 1970s under the combination of a significant volume of new construction assisted housing units being allocated to metro areas from the federal level, the A-95 review process, and support from the 701 planning grants program. In general, it is believed that the incentive of obtaining subsidized housing was key in getting jurisdictions to cooperate. Since 1980 all three elements have been eliminated or severely reduced. One question of current interest is whether the metro fair share plans have adapted to the new environment and are now working with the new providers of housing, such as local non profits, and with local governments' inclusionary zoning programs to

achieve the same goals.

It has been stated that many jurisdictions participated in metro fair share plans only to provide housing for poorly housed families already living there. Thus, a key question is whether minorities--and not only white low income households--have benefited from this type of fair share program.

An additional area of interest is the scope and effectiveness of local inclusionary zoning laws and regulations. While a number of authors cite illustrative examples, e.g., Stegman and Holden (1987), the lists are not complete, nor is there any hard information on the number of units actually being produced for lower income households. There appears to be no information on the degree to which minorities are the beneficiaries of these initiatives.

The effectiveness of state-level fair share plans, of which those of New Jersey (growing out of the Mount Laurel decisions) and Massachusetts are the most prominent, should be carefully studied. To the extent that these policies have been effective--in assisting minorities, not just lower income households--then their replication should be considered. One would have to know if there were unique factors present in the successful litigation that might argue against replicability. Likewise, the cost and time period to develop a successful application would have to be considered. Assuming that unique factors and prohibitive costs are not generally the case, then a plan could be made for promoting necessary litigation or other campaigns in states where the chances for success are high.

With respect to the shallow subsidy state programs, which are

typically operated by a state's housing finance agency, there is currently no systematic data on the degree to which minorities have benefited from these quite high volume programs. If these programs have not been helpful to minorities in promoting suburban homeownership or improving the housing of renters anywhere in the metro areas, then the federal legislation under which they operate could be appropriately modified. On the other hand, if they have been successful, then this argument should be made in seeking extension of the applicable legislation beyond the 1988 sunset or future sunsets if the program is extended this year.

B.4 Document the extent to which current recipients of housing vouchers (and Section 8 certificates) are using these to move to better residential environments. Are their search patterns different from non voucherholders? What are local authorities who administer these programs doing to assist households find housing outside of traditional areas?

Discussion. Vouchers should be a powerful tool in promoting freedom of choice in housing for minorities. Vouchers and Section 8 certificates have become the primary form of federal housing assistance, and they are likely to remain so in light of the very high per unit cost of new construction programs. At the same time vouchers hold out the promise of offering minorities the chance to move to locations of their choice. This is especially so given the recent change which has made vouchers portable among jurisdictions in the same metro area. We know that currently outside of New York and Boston about 70 percent of households receiving a voucher or a S.8 Existing certificate are able to find a unit which qualifies for the program; we also know that two-thirds of minority household move to a different unit to begin receiving

payments under these programs (Kennedy & Finkel, 1987).

We do not know the degree to which voucher holders are moving to more integrated neighborhoods or to suburban areas. We believe, however, that few of the Public Housing Authorities who administer the program are actively assisting participants to find suitable housing in integrated neighborhoods or suburban locations. A small research effort could be mounted to quickly find out. If they are not being administered in a way that promotes meaningful residential mobility, including genuine assistance in searching in areas beyond the traditional minority areas and intense (possibly one-on-one) counseling, then HUD regulations regarding the program should be changed. Program changes of this type may require some additional administrative fees for local authorities. At a minimum a carefully crafted demonstration should be undertaken in the near term.

At a more basic level, litigation should be brought against those PHAs who are administering the voucher or S.8 Existing program in a discriminatory fashion, e.g., giving certificates to whites while assigning minorities to public housing units.

The departure of residents from underclass areas using vouchers should not be viewed as a totally negative development for those who remain in the area. Some reduction of the density of people may well enable the agencies and institutions providing assistance to those living in underclass areas to deal more effectively with those who remain.

Item B.5: Evaluate the success of the few direct "suburbanization" efforts for low income households mounted to date, the most prominent being the Gautreaux Housing Demonstration in Chicago. How many

households who moved remained in the suburban areas? The educational attainment of the children of "Gautreaux households" has been documented. What more general benefits accrued to these families, and what did it cost per family assisted?

Discussion. James Rosenbaum and his colleagues at Northwestern University are now evaluating the impacts on the employment and earnings of Gautreaux family adults of the move to the suburbs. Each of these studies, i.e., those on the children and on the employment impacts on adults, is invaluable since it documents the benefits from an initiative like the Gautreaux Demonstration. Assuming that this demonstration has been effective based on the information now in hand, the next step should be to assess its replicability. To do so we must ask the degree to which they involved "special" households (the Gautreaux households volunteered, passed credit checks, and had no crime record, and were typically car owners) and the cost per household successfully relocated. By 1987 the continuing Gautreaux Demonstration had relocated a total of about 4,000 minority households to Chicago's suburbs, and several hundred more who want to move are assisted to do so each year.

If the results of a more general assessment of this demonstration prove positive, then a strong case could be made for similar initiatives being undertaken in other cities, with special allocations of Section 8 Existing and voucher units. The necessary counseling services could be funded through a city's CDBG funds if necessary. While the absolute numbers may be small, the households assisted clearly benefit and they may reduce the anxiety of majority suburban residents about minority families living in the same areas or sharing the same schools.

Item C.1: Analyze the extent to which central city blue collar jobs,

especially in those well-paying industries in which blacks have been substantially represented, which have left center cities have moved to suburban, exurban, or even more remote locations.

One premise underlying much of the discussion about the relative disadvantage of blacks in urban areas has been the suburbanization of jobs while minority residential areas have remained concentrated in center cities. Kasarda and others have made this case for major cities in the Northeast and Midwest, based on declines in the number of jobs in central cities. It is possible, however, that the departing jobs have gone much further afield. Unpublished tabulations by Vroman for New York and Chicagao suggest that further dispersal may indeed be the case.

A modest research effort would involve comparing data from the 1969 and 1985 Country Business Pattern tapes to document what actually has happened. The documentation should be both for all jobs and for the higher paying blue collar jobs in industries like manufacturing and transportation which were so important in the past to the economic mobility of black men, as shown in Vroman's symposium paper.

Knowing the situation accurately would help all advocates better judge the potential employment gains from increasing the ability of blacks to shift to the suburbs. This in turn would affect fair housing strategies and possibly the priority accorded to improving public transit to suburban job areas. Most likely the results will identify certain metro areas where jobs have really suburbanized and others where the majority has left the area all together. Such information would be very useful in tailoring strategies for individual metro areas.

Item C.2: To provide a comprehensive answer to the question of "spatial

mismatch" the following questions would have to be addressed simultaneously for the same metropolitan area:

(a) What is the geographic distribution of jobs within the metro area, e.g., multiple centers vs. fairly reasonably disbursed, by job skill requirements? Do central city minorities know about these jobs?

(b) What is the geographic distribution of workers' residences by race and by the skill levels and work experience of the workers?

(c) What are the distances, times, speeds, and costs of commuting to employment sites from various locations?

(d) What degree of housing and employment discrimination persists in suburban areas?

Discussion. If the mismatch hypothesis were clearly supported, it would significantly enhance the case for a whole range of policy actions to offset the effects of employment decentralization, including: "compensatory transportation" services, stronger enforcement of fair housing legislation, and, possibly, a fresh assault on employment discrimination.

However, this hypothesis has been extremely difficult to test thoroughly because of the very formidable data requirements of this analysis (Leonard, 1987; Ellwood, 1986). The most sensible way to mount a research effort in this area may be to generate data on key items--such as employment and housing discrimination--for several metropolitan areas in the course of other studies; and then to gather the additional data needed to test this hypothesis fully.

Item C.3: What impact does the relocation of central city firms to suburban location have on the retention of jobs by the initial work force? How does this differ by race? How does the profile of post relocation workers generally compare with that of pre relocation workers?

Discussion. The reduced incidence of minority employment in firms relocating to the suburbs has been documented. With the continued suburbanization of blue collar jobs, the loss of jobs to minorities is becoming critical. The issue here is whether firms are moving to deliberately shed minority workers. One test would be whether the retention rates for the initial work force differ sharply by race for those with similar jobs and possibly located at similar distances from the new site. Another would be direct tests of employment discrimination at the new sites. (Use of such audits, which would be very similar to housing audits, is now being evaluated in a pilot program.) If such firms are found to be discriminating, then all relocating firms could be targeted for a vigorus audit and other tests to discover discimination and to seek redress for those discriminated against.

Item C. 4: How virulent is job discrimination against minorities at suburban plants and warehouses for entry level jobs?

Discussion. The presence of significant employment discrimination for desirable entry level jobs has pervasive negative effects on those discriminated against, since it keeps them off of the promotion ladder associated with a good job. If such discrimination were documented (through a program of employment audits), then the case can be made unequivocally for strong enforcement of existing laws, possibly including the widespread use of audits.

Item C.5: Assess the relationship between residential location and information about employment opportunities in non marginal jobs. How important are word of mouth, recommendations by fellow workers, and

other forms of personal contacts in securing quality blue collar positions? How dependent are such contacts on residential proximity to those currently holding such positions?

Discussion. It has been documented that only a minority of all job vacancies are advertised. About one-third of available positions are only advertised internally at a firm or on a notice posted at the plant gate. Moreover, an analysis by Harry Holzer (1987) of the ways in which young black and white men (16-23) obtain jobs found that getting jobs through friends and relatives was much more important for white men than for black men.[1]

Thus, it would appear that informal job market information of the type indicated in this agenda item is generally instrumental in filling a significant share of all unskilled or limited skill blue collar positions. If we can document that minorities are systematically receiving less of such information, and therefore that they are disadvantaged in the job market, then the case for promotion of much better job information for minorities is greatly strengthened. The same results may argue strongly for more enforcement of fair housing laws and assistance to working class households who wish to move to other areas to increase their access to job information.

An equally important, and clearly related, question is how much information central city minority workers have about available public transportation for reaching jobs in the suburbs.

Item D.1: How many jobs by skill level are accessible by transit from

1. Holzer used data from the 1981 and 1982 panels of National Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

central city areas? What are the travel times, convenience, and cost? What is the transport dependence of minority workers in the the same metro areas? How does this differ for men and women?

D.2 How has job accessibility changed in the past decade, and what are the implications of these trends?

Discussion of D1/D2. There is no reliable documentation of the adequacy of public transportation to suburban jobs available. Developing such information for a few metro areas would be a significant undertaking. However, if extraordinary, i.e., intolerable travel times and costs were documented as being the "price of admission" to a major portion of the low and limited skill suburban jobs, then a very strong case for improvement of transportation facilities could be made. Given the increase in the degree of suburbanization of blue collar jobs and the general decline in urban public transportation nationwide over the past decade, it is likely that the problems caused by inadequate public transportation have been exacerbated over this period. A survey of unemployed workers, i.e., those actively looking for work, about the difficulties in applying for suburban jobs using public transportation could be very informative. The problems of working mothers of young children, who must commute first to day care centers and then to jobs, may warrant special attention.

Item D.3: What alternative transportation configurations could be effective in linking central city residents and suburban job sites and also minimize subsidy costs? We should consider both types of vehicles and strategies for city collection, line haul, and suburban distribution.

Discussion. There seems not to have been much creative analysis of alternative ways to provide the needed transportation services. Presumably the "best" method will vary with the extent of concentration

of suburban jobs and minority residential areas. It appears that past transport efforts of this type, undertaken in the late 1960s, were discontinued because of high cost per rider. Are there configurations--both in terms of types of vehicles used and collection-line haul-distribution strategies--besides those tried in the past that might be cheaper and more effective? Some very recent, ongoing experiments in at least a half dozen cities, sponsored by UMTA (some in conjunction with training programs for occupants of public housing), may provide some lessons.

If more effective models appear feasible, then a strong case for more experimentation with such services can be made.

Item E.1: What is the relationship between neighborhood environment, including the socioeconomic composition of school populations, and educational outcomes and career success? Do minority and poor children consistently do better in middle class schools even if the residential environment does not change? Is the answer different for "underclass" youth compared to children from working class families?

Discussion. There is general agreement on the necessity of providing inner city youth a solid education. The fear is that unless this is done, there will be future generations of households concentrated in underclass areas. Moreover, the potential workers of these future generations will be more needed in the active labor force than today because of the baby boom-baby bust cycle.

While we have some strong evidence on the efficacy of schools whose students come from diverse socioeconomic families from several studies cited in the Orfield paper, documentation of additional positive outcomes for minorities from attending school with those of higher socioeconomic families would strengthen the case for metropolitan wide

busing. Orfield's prescription does not appear to be universally accepted (e.g., Mayer & Jencks, 1987). Since at best this is a difficult political issue, more empirical support may be required to "carry the day."

Item E.2: What techniques, besides metropolitan wide busing, have proven effective in assisting children living in disadvantaged areas markedly improve their educational achievements? Do magnet schools and voluntary transfers work?

Discussion. Litigation for metrowide busing has generally not been successful, when multiple school districts haved been present. Only in Wilmington and Louisville have such favorable decisions been sustained. Hence, there is a strong need to find options to metrowide busing to achieve the same ends that Orfield reports for minorities attending school with white children from higher socioeconomic families. An important question for magnet and voluntary transfer systems is the effects on educational achievements of those children who do not participate in such programs.

Item E.3: What would it cost to implement the recommendations of various national and local panels for significantly upgrading the quality of predominantly minority schools?

Discussion. While metropolitan wide school integration may be an effective or the most effective approach to improving the education attainment of minority children from lower income families, there is substantial pessimism in the legal community about successfully litigating cases which require busing among independent school districts. Hence, it seems clear that in many major cities minority

children will continue to go to segregated schools, which if continued to operate as they are currently will impair the education achievement of those who attend them. We know, for example, that the advantages provided to a child from participation in the Head Start program tend to depreciate so that by mid-elementary school participant and nonparticipant children are very similar. Sustained high quality educational programs are needed.

For several cities the incremental cost of making major improvements appears to be fairly modest, although it may still be more than cities can afford themselves. Can this information be mounted systematically and presented to state and federal officials to make the case for providing these resources?

ANNEX B

Symposium Program

and

Participants

URBAN INSTITUTE SYMPOSIUM
RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY AND MINORITY INCOMES

April 21-22, 1988
Conference Room A
The Urban Institute

THURSDAY, APRIL 21

9:30 - 10:00 A.M.	Conference Registration
10:00 - 11:00 A.M.	Opening Session Introduction to the Project: Historical Perspective George Schermer, The Urban Institute (consultant) Introductory Remarks James O. Gibson, Equal Opportunity Rockefeller Foundation Lynn Walker, Human Rights and Social Justice Ford Foundation Symposium Purpose and Program Raymond J. Struyk, The Urban Institute
11:00A.M.-12:30 P.M.	Discussion Session Barriers to Minority Employment Opportunities Wayne Vroman, The Urban Institute
12:30-1:30 P.M.	Lunch
1:30-2:45 P.M.	Discussion Session Educational Inequalities and the Possibility of Urban Integration Gary Orfield, University of Chicago
2:45-3:00 P.M.	Coffee Break
3:00-5:00 P.M.	Discussion Session Black Suburbanization and Housing Opportunities for Minorities Eunice and George Grier, The Grier Partnership Margery Austin Turner, The Urban Institute
5:00P.M.	Cocktails

FRIDAY, APRIL 22

9:00 -9:30 A.M.	Check In
9:30-11:00 A.M.	Discussion Session
	Metropolitan Decentralization and the Employment Isolation of Minority Workers Yale Rabin, University of Virginia
11:00A.M.-12:30 A.M.	Discussion Session
	Residential Mobility and the Urban Underclass Douglas B. Page, The Urban Institute
12:30 - 1:30 P.M.	Lunch
1:30 - 3:00 P.M.	Closing Session
	Toward an Action Agenda Raymond J. Struyk, The Urban Institute

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Urban Institute Symposium
Residential Mobility and Minority Incomes
April 21-22

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